

Message Text

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ACTION PM-09

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 NEA-10 ADP-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 H-02

INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-15

USIA-12 GAC-01 TRSE-00 MBFR-03 SAJ-01 IO-12 OIC-04

AEC-11 ACDA-19 OMB-01 RSR-01 /155 W

----- 092857

R 172159 Z MAY 73

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5114

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

AMEMBASSY ROME

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

USMISSION BERLIN

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VIENNA FOR MBFR DEL; HELSINKI FOR MPT DEL

E. O. 11652: N/ A

TAGS: PFOR, GW

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SUBJECT: INTERVIEW WITH CHANCELLOR BRANDT.

BEGIN SUMMARY: STERN MAGAZINE HAS CARRIED A LONG INTERVIEW WHICH CHIEF EDITOR HAD WITH CHANCELLOR BRANDT DURING HIS RETURN FLIGHT FROM WASHINGTON. THIS CABLE SUMMARIZES MAIN POINTS MADE BY BRANDT ON FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES, INCLUDING GERMAN RELATIONS WITH US AND USSR, US/ EUROPEAN RELATIONS, KISSINGER PROPOSALS FOR " NEW ATLANTIC CHARTER" AND POSSIBLE FUTURE ARRANGEMENTS FOR EUROPEAN SECURITY. END SUMMARY.

1. ASKED WHETHER THE US COULD BE CONSIDERED AS GERMANY'S FRIEND AND PROTECTOR UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES AND WHETHER THE USSR STILL IS " THE ENEMY", BRANDT SAID: " NATURALLY, MUCH HAS CHANGED IN THE COURSE OF THE YEARS. WHAT HAS NOT CHANGED IS THAT THE UNITED STATES IS NOT ONLY OUR PROTECTOR BUT A GREAT FRIENDLY POWER. HOWEVER, WHAT CANNOT BE OVERLOOKED IS THAT THE ROLE OF THE SOVIET UNION IN THE WORLD IN GENERAL HAS CHANGED, ESPECIALLY VIS- A- VIS US. IN ANY EVENT, (MOSCOW) IS NO LONGER THE ENEMY... THERE IS A CONSIDERABLE CONSERVATIVE ELEMENT IN WHAT IS CALLED COMMUNISM NOW."

2. ASKED WHETHER THE BREZHNEV VISIT TO THE US WOULD HAVE BEEN POSSIBLE WITHOUT THE GERMAN OSTPOLITIK, BRANDT SAID ONE COULD NOT FULLY EXCLUDE IT BUT " A CHANGED RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE TWO SUPER- POWERS WOULD HARDLY HAVE BEEN THINKABLE WITHOUT THE CHANGE OF OUR RELATIONS TO THE SOVIET UNION, POLAND AND ALSO THE GDR."

3. CONCERNING US/ EUROPEAN RELATIONS, BRANDT SAID KISSINGER SEES THINGS " SOMEWHAT TOO SCHEMATICLY" WHEN HE POINTS OUT THAT EUROPEAN ECONOMIC UNIFICATION IS NOT ACCOMPANIED BY POLITICAL UNIFICATION. ECONOMIC UNIFICATION IS OF POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE AND THERE WILL BE PROGRESS IN DRAFTING JOINT EUROPEAN FOREIGN POLICIES IN THE COURSE OF THIS DECADE. IN THE VIEW OF MANY AMERICANS, BRANDT CONTINUED, THE PROCESS OF EUROPEAN UNIFICATION SHOULD RESEMBLE THE PROCESS THAT FORMED THE UNITED STATES. HOWEVER, EUROPEAN UNIFICATION WILL TAKE MUCH LONGER AND THE AIM IS NOT TO MAKE EUROPE A " MELTING POT" BUT RATHER TO PRESERVE INDIVIDUAL EUROPEAN CULTURES. DESPITE " DE GAULLE' S PATENT ON THE UNCLASSIFIED

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PHRASE", HE WOULD NOT OBJECT TO A " EUROPE OF FATHERLANDS" IF IT PROVIDED FOR REASONABLE UNIFICATION.

4. CONCERNING KISSINGER' S PROPOSAL FOR A " NEW ATLANTIC CHARTER", BRANDT SAID THE OLD ATLANTIC CHARTER " SORT OF SUMMED UP PART OF THE TEN COMMANDMENTS". WHAT IS AT ISSUE NOW IS " PRACTICAL POLICIES RATHER THAN

ORIENTATION MARKS". IT IS IMPORTANT THAT THE DOCUMENT
TO BE PREPARED FOR PRESIDENT NIXON'S COMING VISIT TO
EUROPE IS BASED ON THE EXISTING SITUATION AND THAT
IT PROVIDES FOR THE POSSIBILITY OF COOPERATION WITH THE
EAST. " I WOULD NOT ACCEPT ANYTHING HAMPERING THE
POLICY OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC", SAID THE CHANCELLOR,
ADDING THAT " A DECLARATION COULD RESULT ONLY IF ALL
THE PARTICIPANTS AGREE".

5. ASKED WHETHER KISSINGER'S IDEAS CONFLICT WITH
VIEWS ATTRIBUTED TO EGON BAHR ON
EVENTUALLY REPLACING NATO AND THE WARSAW PACT BY A
EUROPEAN SECURITY SYSTEM, BRANDT SAID WHAT BAHR MAY
HAVE HAD IN MIND WAS SOMETHING THAT COULD BE CONSIDERED
ONLY " IN THE LONG RUN, AND IN THE LONG RUN WE WILL

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ALL BE DEAD". AT PRESENT, ALL CONSIDERATIONS MUST BE
BASED ON EXISTING ALLIANCES. HOWEVER, RELATIONS BETWEEN
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NATO AND THE WARSAW PACT WILL CHANGE. IT IS IN GERMAN
NATIONAL INTEREST TO CREATE A SITUATION PROVIDING FOR
INDIVIDUAL PARTS OF EUROPE DRAWING TOGETHER RATHER
THAN DRIFTING APART. AMERICAN INTERESTS ARE DIFFERENT.
THERE ARE RESPONSIBILITIES AND INTERESTS THE AMERICANS
SHARE WITH THE OTHER SUPER- POWER. BRANDT ADDED WITH
SOME EMPHASIS THAT IF THESE TWO POWERS AGREE ON
PURSUING NEW TRADE POLICIES, THE DIMENSIONS OF EXCHANGE
WILL LEAVE OTHER COUNTRIES ENGAGED IN EASTERN TRADE
FAR BEHIND.

6. ASKED WHETHER BREZHNEV WOULD SEEK TO REBUFF THE US
PROPOSAL FOR A NEW ATLANTIC CHARTER OR OFFER A
SUBSTITUTE DECLARATION, BRANDT SAID THAT " BREZHNEV
CERTAINLY WOULD NOT INTERFERE WITH THINGS THAT CONCERN
US ALONE IN THE ATLANTIC COMMUNITY". WHEN HE ASKS
FOR INFORMATION, WE WILL BE HAPPY TO RESPOND, AND WE
WILL ALSO POSE QUESTIONS TO HIM ABOUT EVENTS IN THE
WARSAW PACT; THAT IS A POSITIVE RESULT OF THE
EAST/ WEST DIALOGUE THAT TODAY ONE CAN SPEAK OVER SUCH
THINGS RELATIVELY OPENLY.

7. ASKED WHETHER HE WOULD GO SO FAR AS TO SAY THAT
BREZHNEV COULD BE SEEN AS A " FRIEND", BRANDT SAID
ONE SHOULD NOT EXAGGERATE BUT THAT IT WAS ALREADY OF
IMPORTANCE THAT HE COULD SPEAK IN BONN OVER IMPROVED
COOPERATION WITH THE PRINCIPAL LEADER OF THE SOVIET
UNION. BRANDT ALSO SAID THAT THE REMOVAL OF SCHELEST
AND VRONOV FROM THE SOVIET CP POLITBURO COULD BE
CONSIDERED AS A FURTHER CONFIRMATION OF BREZHNEV' S
POLICY OF " OPENING TOWARD THE WEST". HE SAID SCHELEST
AND VRONOV HAD BEEN CONSIDERED AS BEING " VERY SKEPTICAL
OR EVEN OPPOSED" TO THE SOVIET POLICY OF " OPENING
TOWARD THE WEST".
HILLENBRAND

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*** Current Classification *** UNCLASSIFIED

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TAGS: PFOR, UNCLASSIFIED, UNCLASSIFIED
To: ANKARA
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PM
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THE HAGUE

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